

## Message Text

SECRET

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE  
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USNMR SHAPE - -

S E C R E T STATE 112289

EXDIS, MILITARY ADDEE HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: NATO, NAC, PARM, UR, US

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S TRIP TO MOSCOW

REF: NATO 4293

1. YOU MAY CONVEY THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL COMMENTS TO THE  
NAC ON THE ATMOSPHERICS SURROUNDING THE MOSCOW VISIT BY  
SECRETARY VANCE.

2. DESPITE INDICATIONS BEFORE THE TRIP THAT THE SOVIETS  
WERE DISCOURAGED AND PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE COURSE OF  
US-SOVIET RELATIONS, THE CONCRETE AND SPECIFIC DISCUSSIONS

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WITH GROMYKO AND BREZHNEV IN MOSCOW WERE CONDUCTED IN A  
GOOD ATMOSPHERE AND IT WAS POSSIBLE AT THE END FOR BOTH  
SIDES TO CHARACTERIZE THE TALKS AS USEFUL AND TO SPEAK OF  
MODEST PROGRESS WHICH HAD BEEN MADE.

3. BREZHNEV COMMENTED, FOLLOWING THE VISIT, IN HIS  
KOMSOMOL SPEECH, THAT THERE HAD BEEN A THOROUGH EXCHANGE

OF OPINIONS AND AS A RESULT PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE,  
THOUGH NOTING THAT "FAR FROM ALL ISSUES HAD BEEN SOLVED."

4. THE PARTICIPATION IN THE TALKS OF MARSHAL OGARKOV AND  
HIS DEPUTY IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE RESPONSIBLE FOR SALT

(KOSLOV) WAS NOTEWORTHY AND PRESUMABLY WAS IN PART RELATED  
TO THE SOVIET NEED TO COORDINATE THEIR SALT POSITION  
INTERNALY.

5. WHILE MOST OF THE TIME WAS DEVOTED TO SALT, OTHER  
SUBJECTS WERE ALSO BRIEFLY DISCUSSED:

A. THE MIDDLE EAST: THE SOVIETS CONTINUE TO BE  
FRUSTRATED BY THE COURSE OF EVENTS, PARTICULARLY THE US  
MEDIATING ROLE BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL; THE SECRETARY  
DESCRIBED THE BASIC ELEMENTS IN THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS  
AND ASSURED GROMYKO THAT WE SUPPORT A COMPREHENSIVE  
SETTLEMENT AND BELIEVE THAT A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES  
EMERGING OUT OF THE PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE A GOOD  
STEPPING STONE TOWARD A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT.

B. AFRICA: THE SECRETARY POINTED OUT THAT DEVELOPMENTS  
IN AFRICA COULD AFFECT THE ATMOSPHERE OF OUR RELATIONS  
AND HENCE THE RATIFICATION OF SALT; IN PARTICULAR HE  
WARNED AGAINST SOVIET ACTIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE  
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SOVIETS WERE DISINGENUOUS ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE CUBANS IN  
AFRICA, AND SEEMED SERIOUSLY TO UNDERESTIMATE THE EFFECT  
IN THIS COUNTRY OF SUCH CUBAN AND SOVIET ACTIVITIES. IT  
IS HARD TO SAY WHAT EFFECT OUR COMMENTS HAD. BUT THE  
SOVIETS SEEMED TO TAKE THEM IN AND THEY MAY HAVE HAD SOME  
RESIDUAL EFFECT.

C. DISCUSSIONS OF UN SSOD AND MBFR WERE PERFUNCTORY, AS  
AMBASSADOR WARNKE INDICATED IN HIS BRIEFING TO THE NAC.

D. HUMAN RIGHTS WAS DISCUSSED; NOTHING NEW EMERGED.

6. ALTHOUGH THE POSITIONS OF THE TWO SIDES DIFFERED  
DIAMETRICALLY ON A NUMBER OF THE NON-SALT ISSUES DISCUSSED;  
THE TONE OF THE DISCUSSIONS WAS NOT SHARPLY POLEMICAL BUT  
RATHER ONE OF POLITE DISAGREEMENT.

7. WE GOT THE IMPRESSION THAT GROMYKO WILL BE COMING TO  
ATTEND THE UN SSOD TOWARD THE END OF MAY, AND WE EXPECT  
TO HAVE FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WITH HIM IN WASHINGTON AT  
THAT TIME. NO ARRANGEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE FOR A SUMMIT  
MEETING, AND WE ARE TAKING THE NEGOTIATIONS ONE STEP AT

A TIME WITHOUT SETTING A DEADLINE. VANCE

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